

International Summercamp of Minerve 2025

The present document is the result of discussions on war and militarization held during the 2025 international summercamp that took place in August in Minerve, France.

We also included an appendix with Contributions on the Aspects of the switch into war economy. From different countries, we reported how the economy is changing from welfare to warfare economy and how it is affecting, not only the expenditure, but also in a superstructural level, cultural and institutionally. How the working class is reacting to it and which struggles have the potential to oppose it, contributes fundamentally to our analysis.

Workshop on War and Militarization

Take a look at the texts of IP (Internationalist Perspective) from the Reader:

- *Declaration on War* (<https://internationalistperspective.org/an-internationalist-statement-on-capitalism-and-war/>)
- *War and Crisis* (<https://internationalistperspective.org/capitalism-crisis-and-war/>)

Declaration on War:

Congress in Prague last year - chaotic, split in two parts, left disappointments. Desire to not only talk about war but also work towards common action against it. A common basis was needed. Last day of congress: agreement on some points as basis of action. Later meeting in Arezzo. Further discussion on email-list. Three versions, also sent to camp in Poznan. Perspective: opposition against capitalist war. Many support a "lesser evil" or "better side." IP believes wars are products of capitalist mode of production and tries to explain this more substantially in *War and Crisis*.

Part 1 - Text: War and Crisis

Part 1 - Historical Perspective on War

It is true that war did not start with capitalism. Also in societies without classes and state. But human nature is a social and evolving thing. War is at the start of modern society. Ruling classes emerged also from warriors. Continuities between pre-capitalist and capitalist society. Ascendant period of capitalism we can distinguish two types of war during ascendant capitalism:

1. War of nation-states to eradicate feudalism - very violent, clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants. War between capitalist nations and non-capitalist regions - often racist/genocidal.
2. Imperialist → inter-imperialist wars: capitalist system dominates globally (capital-labor relation, productivity, technology). Wars between capitalist nations became genocidal, racist, dehumanizing. Capitalism shifts production purpose from use value → accumulation of value (G-W-G+). Purpose of production totally changed. Before things were produced because of use value. War before were waged for concrete things. In Capitalism the purpose of production becomes value. Capacity of goods is just the means to accumulate value. Production only for accumulation. It subjects capitalism to the law of value. Regardless of who is in charge etc..

Crisis: Phases of growth and decline. Falling rate of profit. Productivity goes together with enhancement of technology. Value realised on the market. Has to return in production to continue the cycle. G-W-G+,

The whole system comes into crisis. Not enough new value is created to valorise. That creates the necessity to destroy value, so that there is balance again.

In 20th century industrialised war military production become part. World Wars capitalism becomes cannibalistic. Over-production crisis. Too much capital in financial form. War to create balance and to valorise capital. That is sort of the hidden function of war. It is not the intention of the nations going to war. What they want is to obtain value. Economic competition moves to a military level. In the text elaboration of how this evolves. Also how imperialism changes over history. In the Text: History of wars.

About Surplus-Population. We see destruction of population. The most glaring example is the holocaust. Politics of elimination at the costs of military strength. So it seems irrational. I address that in the text. Use of scape goat. Otherness that is persecuted. To create the "Volksgemeinschaft" the wrong national communities. Capitalism destroys

communities. But there is still the longing for communities. Negative Community. Dehumanisation of "the other". E.g. against migrants in US. Perhaps it is even bad for capital. But it is good to create the wrong communities. You also need for war. Current crisis: Globalisation, Information-Tech and so on postponed this crisis.

Part 2 - Situation Today

Situation we are in today. Similarities to the time before the World Wars. What were the obstacles for the ruling class to develop the big war today. Capitalist world economy is in crisis. Runs out of remedies. Increased military spending. Tax on social wage. Huge increase of public debts. Return to protectionist politics. Increased nationalist and bellicist propaganda. Prepare for war. Personality-cult of great leaders. Open about imperialist annexations. Multiplications of new conflict, and outbreaks of old conflicts. Civil Wars that are wars between different factions of the state supported by big powers for resources. Collapse of central state with gangs filling the vacuum. War aim at ethnic cleansing, Genocide, scapegoating of minorities. War is moving from the periphery to the center. Nuclear Weapons increasing again. Big Powers updating their nuclear arsenals.

Obstacles:

-Unequal balance of power. USA-Block is by large stronger. But alliances can change. The weaker side often hopes by first strike it can obtain advantage.

-nuclear threshold. In Cold War not used. We see it in war in ucrain how this is used to prevent the west from escalation its engagement in the war. However it is quite possible that a global war could develop without using nuclear weapons. Because conventional weapons are already so destructive that they might achieve the same effect. Conventional weapons are much much stronger now. Today an escalation with conventional weapons would not be so far from nuclear.

-Lack of social submission. Without consent of population the state is not able to wage war. Relies on exploitation of proletariat. War is not possible without. War constitutes the ultimate degree of exploitation. Gallup: 64 countries: would you fight for your country? 2014/2023: Readiness to fight decreases. 2014: 64 yes. 2023: 52 yes. Japan had the lowest rate: 9%. Russia: 32%.

Historical experience makes a difference. Hope and Disappointment of revolution, WW2, authoritarian... No polls from 1913. But willingness would be higher.

What is lacking today is class consciousness. You are individuals and therefore open to nationalist propaganda. Before workers were part of

parties, unions and so on. Working class institutions before against the war. When war broke out that was forgotten. They sides with capital and send the workers to their death. Now there are no mass-socialist-parties to line up. That is a good thing.

Interwar period. Wave of revolts where crushed. Great Depression. Period where revolutionary consciousness could not evolve. No mass mobilisation also in Russia. Could not escalate the war like Hitler could. But without mass-desertions and without strikes in arms-industry. Many have left. In Ukraine the same. No massive collective protest. Recently there was bug protest at football-stadium.

Dockworkers in Genova, Marseille, Athens refused to load weapons on ships. In Israel itself war resistance is evolving.

Why we are in that situation? Why is there not more resistance? But also why not more war-mobilisation? Ask ourselves about role of information-tech. AI..

Global recession is coming. remains to be seen..

Questions/Discussion

L: Crisis as incentive for war. Alfred Sohn-Rethel: economic and ideological reasons for war.

S: I agree there is the danger to make analysis to scematic. Historical context is changing. Understanding of ruling class of its own system evolves also. For example If capitalist class would have implied Keyens ideas earlier may war later would have happened and so on. In the text it is more elaborate.

An: Surprised of the answers. War as destruction of capital is function not the aim.

S: Development of authoritarian directions of Capitalist management is linked with war preparation. Goes together with militarisation. In USA Military in the cities. A clear trend. More general trend towards more authoritarianism. Militarisation and Imperialism is not in the sense with the goal of restoring condition for value accumulation it is the escalation of economic relation to imperialist confrontation. The destruction of over accumulated value is the function, and not the goal.

Li: But why now, and not in 2015 (financial crisis)?

E: Working class where a lot of coation. In 2015 more welfare state was able to keep control. Helps capitalism not to enter in a war mode. But of course there is still the margin of benefits. How are they going to justify going into war? Ideological preparation.

S: Incentive was not at the same level 2015. The incentive grows gradualist is a political process as well. Crisis deepens the more incentive grows. Incentive for the dominant power to isolate rivals also increases. Incentive for Russia, incentive for America rival over Ukraine territory. Tendency in US to circle enemies with military alliance e.g. against china, same in the middle east.

Li: Like Michael Roberts: we have crisis. We will see collapse and crisis. Falling profit rate. And then that is the explanation for everything.

An: OK. Incentives are higher now then in 2015.

S: Management of working calss and inner dynamics are different now than in 2015. Getting society ready for war is an effort to undertake that takes time. Conflicts have inner dynamic. Case of ukraine is different pint in 2015 than in 2020. Not only economic is correct. Cannot be reduced to economics.

Ew: If I understood correctly you understand war just as coming from economy. And not mediated by the state as ideal general Capitalist which acts against inidividual capitalist. Examples: Lots of Russian Oligarchs and german capitalists are not happy about the war. War not only comes from capital crisis, also state-logic.

S: Conflict betweet different states in the end is in the economic compettion. But yes there is something more.

Bob: Presentation was frustration for me. You have to understand it more concretely not only generally. We need concrete understanding of condition of working class in war. If not, its only against war in general.

Example: Yugo-War. During the war there was resistance against privatisation. You cannot grasp the

S/IP: Another function of war is preventative counter revolution. Working calss in different countries e.g. France. War and its presence in public prepares consciousness againgt the other to tie working class to the state.

Ew: Russia: opposition says war deflects from inner problems. But before war there not problems on such a scale like know. There where no mass protests or inner conflicts that would justify to risk of war. War is also a risk, because you arm people.

S(IP: Thias is not a war to prevent revolution. There can be this connencts but in this example not. There is not a completeness. Yes it was not very general.

El: Discussing about the struggles. We where remarking how the escalation and repression was increading very rapidly. See this as a tendency. What about Israeli/Palestinian Conflict. Hamas was questioned by movement in Gaza. Of course not the only reason, but maybe part of the reason of the attac that it was loosing control. Podemos in gouverment

in Spain: Certain some welfare measures, at the same time very repressive against movements. Question about the declaration: why summarise.

S/IP: Important point about Podemos. Role of democracy as an instrument against class struggle. Since 200th Century. Democracy very important for mobilisation in favor of war. On the Declaration: Purpose of establishing a basis for intervention on international scale. Declaration is not big analysis just some point everybody should be able to agree on. Common platform with different groups, not a common organisation.

Seb: Not important if war started 2015 or 2023. It is economic in fundament, but It is not deterministic. From Germany speaking perspective: Middle class see only Russia is attacking and we have to defend.

Ch: Most interesting is long time observation about young people to enter war or not. Huge number of deserters Russia, Ukraine, Israel.. We have to think about what is changing? Since 20 years there are more and more protests (in global south). Generation Z. Digital natives. Global citizens. Maybe in this kind of points we should for reasons why they could reject war.

Al: Point of Incentives of war. We have to look on China more. Last big strike in China around 2014 in big car factories. Big repression. Later on we have special combination of china-capitalism. Special combination in china. This is real threat for US economy. Conflict in Ukraine. Crisis, Euro-Crisis, Covid-Crisis.. China was successful. Dangerous for US. Iraq-War to contain China. Questions about how young working class will react to that.

Part 2 - Militarization and Case Studies

Militarization in Spain, Italy, UK, USA, France, Germany, Austria - see online paper also in appendix. Civic program in France: obligatory 1-day army service at 17; week-long "sweet patriotism" proposed (Service national Universel), voluntary, with some protests against it.

Presentation on situation in Israel-Palestine: Israel has ALWAYS been militarized, although civilian open carry now allowed and more common. The economy has taken a hit since the start of the genocide, over 50,000 businesses have gone bankrupt, but it seems to have recovered, maybe because of the war industry and foreign investment. War industry has risen from 4 to 8.8%. Largely selling to other countries. Germany, for example. British state and Elbit systems. The genocide is a testing ground for different foreign companies. The AI murder tech is supported largely by US companies. Now they are talking about occupying Gaza City. This caused some resistance within Israel. Reserves were called up, around 60,000. Having some problems recruiting. Now recruiting people over 55. The refusenik network is not big enough to cause a big movement.

Criticism of the government is more about the hostages and the soldiers, not about the genocide. There were some international solidarity movements, but mostly performative. US, Germany, Italy, UK France, still providing plenty of money, and many other countries buy Israeli weapons and war bonds. The AI systems they're using to murder people in Gaza, seems to be a gamification. Soldier interviews talk about it as a game. Israel revoked work permits for everyone in the West Bank. Instead they're looking for Indian and Sri Lankan workers for construction. Increased pogroms against civilians in West Bank, with more assistance from the army. Over 60,000 officially killed in Gaza, but it's more likely in the hundreds of thousands. Most of Gaza destroyed. Mass starvation. Foreign aid in Gaza has been all but eliminated, and set up their own with American mercenaries, and former Israeli and CIA employees.

Points from the discussion:

Israel doesn't have the data centres for their AI systems, so they work with American companies.

There was a 12 hour strike when Israel broke a ceasefire, but the court declared it illegal, and it stopped.

In Spain there is protest, but still at a symbolic level. And the states that have recognized Palestine, haven't placed sanctions, so it's mainly just symbolic.

In Cologne there have been some anti-nationalist demonstrations where people said, you can't have any flags.

There is a question over how split Israel is. Liav says that the divide is mainly in peacetime, and when the government keeps starting new wars, they get the support. As long as there is foreign investment in Israel, he finds it difficult for the Israeli working class to free itself from Zionism. International pressure is needed.

Unlike Russia, Israel is so dependent on aid, that it is very vulnerable to sanctions. Blocking arms or microchip sales to Israel by the workers is a possibility.

Sanders said that sanctions campaigns are different from workers actions. You can't convince the state, you convince the population that the state is ours.

Palestine action in the UK has been breaking into weapons systems in the UK and vandalizing them. They have been banned. So maybe they were. Broader point, the weapons systems are international, so there are workers who can take action against the war.

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

Post soviet left had the proposal to have protests in paris berlin and cologne, Ukranians and Russians. Not very big protests. It would be good to pick up the campaigns supporting deserters.

Guerre a la Guerre. A union of different political groups who try to work with anti-war workers. The political works didn't hijack a grassroots mobilization, they filled a void. Stop Army Israel is for example a group that is part of Guerre a la Guerre. They had demonstrations against an arms fare outside of paris. Over 3000 people. A lot of unions that have links to the arms industry (CGT, trade unions in military information systems, airport workers etc...) Some of these workers were invited to summercamp, but were busy with their own fight within their own union. There is an interesting battle going on about the conversion of industries to military uses.

There will be a 2 day meeting against in the war in Varna sept 19th and 20th (check date.)

Appendix on War

Short overview on the process of militarisation in the UK

Since Trump's tariff war, the UK state is even more desperate to secure its crumbling economic base by showing off as a minor military partner, both to the EU, when it concerns Ukraine, and to the US, when it concerns the Middle-East. The focus of the latter was to obtain a favourable trade agreement by submission.

**** Current military involvement*

In Ukraine, the Starmer government continues the previous Tory government's hawkish stand. Shortly after the war started, Boris Johnson, as an unofficial representative of the UK, put pressure on Zelensky 'not to give in' and, as the UK is one of the main financial supporters of Ukraine, significantly undermined the peace talks. Starmer was one of the first European statesmen to announce the possibility of deploying troops of a 'coalition of the willing' in Ukraine in future, while the UK military continues to train Ukrainian personnel. The UK pushes for a NATO revival, while the EU is debating its own standing army. There are also separate defence agreements between UK and Germany in the making and current negotiations between the UK and France on nuclear cooperation - and how 'to defend the common borders against migrants'.

In the Middle East, the UK army under Sunak took part in the US bombardment of Houthi positions in January 2024 in 'self-defence'. Under Starmer's leadership, the UK has continued spy flights for Israel, allowed the US military to operate through its Cyprus airbase, and launched fighter jets in support of Israel during Iran's recent strikes. (as a footnote: The Starmer leadership used the 'fidelity' to Israel and Corbyn's 'outdated pacifism' to purge the party of its left fringe - this partly explains the particularly aggressive tone of the government's militarism.)

**** Ideological militarisation*

In June 2025, at a low point of popularity, the government fired up the war propaganda machine. Starmer announced that the UK's armed forces must move to "war-fighting readiness" over the coming years, the UK faces a "more serious and immediate" threat than anytime since the Cold War, and "every citizen must play their part". UK foreign affairs adviser Fiona Hill (previous advisor to Trump) said on the front page of main UK

newspapers, that the *"UK is at war with Russia"*. The head of Britain's armed forces Adm. Tony Radakin warned that the world stands at the cusp of a *"third nuclear age"*. These scenarios are meant to shift public opinion - in a survey from early 2024, only 7% of the 18 to 40 year olds said they would volunteer for the army if a world war broke out; 21% would not volunteer, but serve if conscripted; and 38% would refuse to be conscripted.

*** *Defence spending*

In February 2025, Starmer announced:

"the biggest sustained increase in defence spending since the Cold War. (...) We must use the process of getting to 3% of our national income spent on defence to fundamentally rebuild British industry, use our investment in military spending to create new jobs and apprenticeships in every part of the country. And that's why last night I announced a deal that perfectly symbolises the new era. A partnership with Ukraine that allows them to use £1.6 billion of UK export finance to buy 5,000 air defence missiles manufactured in Belfast. That means UK jobs, UK skills, UK finance pulling together for our national interest, putting Ukraine in the strongest possible position..."

As part of this new strategy, the government announced a £1.5 billion investment in at least six new munitions and energetics factories, which it claims will support over 1,800 skilled jobs in the UK defence sector (HM Government, 2025). In addition the UK wants to build up to 12 attack submarines as part of AUKUS programme and a £15 billion investment set out for the UK's nuclear warhead programme. Allegedly 400,000 jobs in Britain are attached to the arms industry. Unsurprisingly, all trade unions are unapologetically in favour of the increase in spending. The biggest union across the manufacturing sector, Unite, titled their press release in February 2025:

"Increased defence spending welcome but promises on UK jobs must be real".

These plans have to be seen on the background of a teetering UK economy. In April 2025 the government passed a 'Steel Act' to nationalise parts of the British steel industry - none of which is actually not that "British" anymore, as there is significant ownership of Indian and Chinese companies. For example, the Act wanted to prevent a Chinese company from closing down a blast furnace in Lincolnshire through nationalisation, to defend 'national interest'. There have been previous disputes around Chinese investments, amongst others in micro-chip, battery and power plants, with US politicians intervening to prevent further economic ties.

In that sense the picture that Draghi (ex-president of the European Central Bank) paints for Europe also applies to the UK:

"Of all the major economies, Europe is the most exposed to [geopolitical] shifts. We are the most open: our trade-to-GDP ratio exceeds 50 percent, compared with 37 percent in China and 27 percent in the United States. We are the most dependent: we rely on a handful of suppliers for critical raw materials and import over 80 percent of our digital technology. We have the highest energy prices: EU companies face electricity prices that are 2-3 times higher than those in the United States and in China. We are severely lagging behind in new technologies. And we are the least ready to defend ourselves: only ten member states spend more than or equal to 2 percent of GDP on defense, in line with NATO commitments."

*** *Social contradictions*

To hit the 3% rearmament target, the UK state would have to find an extra £13bn. Currently, the government had to perform various u-turns when it came to the austerity measures that would contribute to the financing of rearmament, e.g. initially they wanted to give NHS staff only 2.8% pay increase, but they topped it up to 3.6%, and the planned cuts of disability allowance have been softened after significant protests. The peace movement itself is relatively weak, but there is considerable discontent with the austerity measures and with the intensification of legal repression against protests, such as the declaration of Palestine Action as a terrorist organisation. Recent surveys say that Labour would currently get only 15% of votes.

Very quick thoughts on recent developments around militarization and war **in the UK.**

1. Opposition to Israeli violence and expansionism. This continues to be expressed by coalitions of leftists, liberals and nationalists/"anti-imperialists".

Although tiny handfals around, for example, No War But Class War, attempt to intervene with a class struggle perspective, there is no significant impact on the movement.

Radical leftists have involved themselves in "Palestine Action" - an activist expression of anti-colonialism/Palestinian nationalism.

They have undertaken various "spectacular" actions including some around workplaces but I have seen no evidence of attempting to connect with the workers when they blockade the factories/depots.

2. The Labour Government is a solid part of the coalition of European powers intent on supporting Ukraine in the current war. In recent months they have openly expanded this into a conscious and openly declared "industrial strategy" based on military- related expenditure. Aspects have included commitments to increasing military spend as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product. The government has also directly intervened to keep open the last UK primary steel producing blast furnaces against the wishes of the China-based owners.

3. Given the fragile condition of the national economy the switch towards increased military expenditure has inevitably been connected to cuts in other areas. The most immediate feature has been on welfare payments to people with disabilities alongside greater pressure to force welfare claimants into low-paid employment.

4. There are early signs of some sectional but essentially working class-centred resistance to the cuts and generalised austerity. For example, a movement calling itself Crips United has emerged as a self-organised struggle forum for people with disabilities.

Situation in Spain concerning the war economy 2025

The expenditure in Spain is very low if compared to other European countries, so that the right wing is criticising the government for not investing properly, like an imperialist country should do. One can follow the official numbers, Centre Delas offers a lot of very complete reports on the rearming process ¹, but the truth is those numbers are increasing according to what the rest of EU economies are doing and what is the need of the Spanish economy. I'll rather focus on all the struggles that have been taking place for some months already. That is the case of INDRA, a cluster of companies who are dealing at the moment with contracts to develop something called NG MIMA (Next Generation Military Integrated Modular Avionics) to equip the anti-aircraft defence. It's a EU programme where 20 different companies from different countries are involved ².

Also Airbus workers, lead by CGT, have an ongoing struggle to get some improvements in the collective agreement, but INDRA workers in particular

have been going on strike in recent months to get higher salaries ³.

Then more recently, metal workers in Cartagena (Murcia) building a submarine for defense went on around a month-long strike including hunger strike for better pay. Metal workers in Cádiz and Cantabria are also connected with this kind of production.

It's quite rare to find a struggle only about money and not a defensive one in this period. This can be read in different ways, can be analysed as a tendency to be focussing on since these workers would be in a tricky position to eventually have a say about the war. I think it's interesting to follow and intervene with a clear idea of what role these workers could play.

[3] <https://www.cgтинformatica.org/es/contenido/16-diciembre-seis-empresas-del-grupo-indra-van-la-huelga-por-el-poder-adquisitivo>

Situation in Eastern Germany

In the last months we had seen some strikes and collective bargaining in the public sector, led by the trade union Verdi (for the non Germans: that's the big trade union in the public sector, part of the central German Federation of Trade Unions). Of course there is in this situation always the discussion, that the cities and towns (that employ most people in the public sector) have not enough funds to pay higher wages - or must close public infrastructure. This year in the public debate it played for the first time an important role, that "we" cannot pay more money for the workers in the public sector because "we" have to spend the money for defense, that "we" need cuttings in the social sector to protect the country against a Russian invasion.

As far as I see, there is no organized voice from the trade unions objecting to this or at least discussing the situation. From my point of view that relates partly to the fact that a part of the left, that supported in last years labour struggles in the e.g. health sector, decided to support the military defence of Ukraine and became somehow defenseless against the accusation that antimilitarism supports Putin.

At the same moment, the incoming governing coalition (Christian- and Social Democrats) found a way to change the constitution so that it will be possible to create new state debts for military spending and reconstruction of infrastructure (highway, bridges,...) without touching the "debt brake",

the central legal base of German austerity politics. The reconstruction of infrastructure is due not only because the first bridges are collapsing after decades of austerity politics, but because of military reasons, too.

About the trade unions: the crisis in German industry leads to first closing of factories and layoffs. In this situation the rise in the arms industry offers an alternative for the skilled industrial workforce. In Görlitz, a small town in Saxony, at the Polish border the French producer of rail vehicles ALSTOM closed a factory for wagons, which will be now run by the French-German arms company KNDS (former Krauss-Maffei) and shall produce military stuff. There were few critics about that. I have heard an interview with the chairman of the Workers Council, who said: yeah, we can criticise that, but it can be good just for defence and it saves the industrial core of the region. Guess that is a representative reaction.

Besides this, we have a public debate about reintroduction of compulsory military service. The liberal media are promoting it. A young left podcaster (Ole Nyomen) wrote a book "Why I would never fight for my country" where he defends the idea, not to go to war, based on Marxist ideas. By that he became the talk show guest number one, media invites if they need an "antimilitaristic" voice. There is quite a debate about his book, but on the level "is it better to live under tyranny or to die in defence of the homeland?". An organised objection against military service is not yet visible, but it seems that there is no great desire under young people to follow the call to arms.

Situation in (West)Germany

Since 2000, military spending has risen in real terms from 24 billion in 2023 (1.6% of GDP) to 2.12% of GDP – €90.58 billion – in 2024. With a budget of €476.8 billion in 2024, this represents around 19% of the budget. In 2024, the ministries of education (21.5), health (16.7), development (11.2), economy & climate (11.1), housing (6.7), foreign affairs (6.7) and the environment (2.4) together still received over 13 billion euros less than the military. The arms industry expects huge increases in sales in the coming years – realistic, given that the Bundeswehr's investment budget has skyrocketed from €4.1 billion (2017) to €9.9 billion (2022) and €17.7 billion (2023) and is even targeting €21.9 billion for 2024. No wonder the share prices of the largest listed German arms manufacturers have skyrocketed. Airbus, mitigated by its high civilian share, saw an increase of 'only' around 17%. Rheinmetall's share price climbed by 319% and Hensoldt's by 243%. The big players in the industry are (2022 sales excluding KNDS and Diehl (2021)): Airbus

Defense and Space (€13.7 billion), Rheinmetall (€6.4 billion), KNDS with the German division Kraus-Maffei Wegmann (€2.7 billion), Hensoldt (€1.71 billion) and Diehl (€571 million). In addition to these companies, which are listed among the top 100 companies in the world, MBDA, MTU Aero Engines, Rhode & Schwarz, submarine and shipbuilders Lürssen and ThyssenKrupp Marine Systems, and small arms manufacturers Heckler & Koch, Walther, Haenel and SigSauer are also worth mentioning. The trend towards militarisation is clear. Since the 1970s, the question of a 'military-industrial complex' (MIC) has been discussed in Germany in analogy to the USA. On the one hand, it has become clear that this MIC does not play the same role as in the USA. At the same time, it is clear that the BND secret service repeatedly 'helps out' with arms exports. Internationally, the Federal Republic of Germany is a leader in arms exports. Germany has been at the top of the relevant rankings for years, ranking fourth according to the 2021 report by the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Time and again, it comes to light that German weapons - especially easily transportable and versatile firearms - are found in combat and wars in countries where, according to 'official guidelines,' they should never have been allowed to go. There was a particularly dramatic case involving Heckler & Koch, which made false declarations. Starting in 2006, the company officially sold 8,000 G36 assault rifles to the Mexican Ministry of Defence. These were expressly 'not to be delivered' to four provinces (including Guerrero), as these were considered hotbeds of unrest and the scene of brutal drug wars, and were also known for their particularly corrupt police forces. But only a short time later, the weapons turned up in Guerrero in the hands of police officers who carried out a massacre of 43 protesting teacher training students at the local university. The diversion of the assault rifles was probably done with the knowledge of senior German officials, but it was certainly orchestrated by Heckler & Koch's management. Incidentally, the 'armaments clusters' in Germany are located in the west: Kiel, Hamburg, Bremen, the Ruhr area, Kassel, the Lake Constance region and Munich. The German Armed Forces is short of around 20,000 employees in the qualified middle ranks of the non-commissioned officer corps alone. The official goal of increasing the number of soldiers in the German Armed Forces to 203,000 has not yet been achieved. Instead, the deadline of 2025 has been postponed several times to 2031. In addition to too few applicants, there is a high dropout rate in training programmes. The current debate on compulsory military service is intended to change this. There have been repeated protests - so far isolated - against the Bundeswehr's recruitment efforts, both at promotional events and in schools. There is a debate about 'arms conversion,' but so far it has remained marginal in society and among trade unions. The connection between militarisation and the welfare state is pointed out, but this has not yet triggered any broader protests. Aggressive war propaganda and agitation against »Bürgergeld« and other welfare state 'benefits' are aimed at preventing this. In this context, politicians are hailing 'successes

of a new era.': In Braunschweig, for example, a small company run by environmentally-minded technology enthusiasts is being bought up by Rheinmetall. Almost all of the employees are being taken on and are now to build combat drones, or at least reconnaissance drones. The 'research airport' in Braunschweig is to be put to military use. The military, which withdrew from the city in 2003, is being brought back, and the civil clause at the Technical University is being dropped... In recent weeks, jointly organised events by the German Armed Forces, the Senate and Hospital management have been held at the Charité and Vivantes hospitals in Berlin. Since Berlin would become an 'infrastructural and war-critical hub' on the 'eastern front' in the event of an impending war, emergency and deployment plans would have to be worked on in the near future. So far, there have been no fundamental objections or protests from official ver.di. However, parts of the ver.di works council in the hospitals are currently discussing actions for the autumn. We can assume that there will be an anti-war movement - we are already seeing the beginnings today. The question is, how broad it will be, what its content will be, and how and where it will intervene. For example, the (mainly bourgeois) anti-war movement in Germany in the 1980s was broad in some respects, but its 'fear-mongering' mobilisation often rendered it toothless. We should discuss our possible role: to highlight the connection between capitalism and war, not only on the streets, but also in the workplaces. Where we can, initiate activities and protests ourselves. And last but not least, we should argue with the remnants of the 'radical left,' which (not only!!) since the wars in Ukraine and Gaza often no longer represents an anti-militarist position. They seem to have forgotten - or only uphold in abstract terms - that wars narrow or even closes the space for progressive movements!

Situation in Bulgaria

In the period 2023-2025 Bulgaria is entering a stage of accelerated militarization, marked by an unprecedented increase in defence spending, large-scale modernization of the army, and increased participation in NATO initiatives..

In 2025, the Ministry of Defence plans a significant increase in military personnel's salaries. Officers' salaries will increase by 30%, and those of privates by 50%. This is part of a broader strategy to retain personnel and increase the army's combat capability.

At the same time, the military budget is growing at a historic pace. From 1.31% of GDP in 2014, defence spending will reach 2.18% in 2024, and an increase to 2.5% is planned for 2025 - above NATO requirements. The

almost double increase within a decade places Bulgaria among the countries in the alliance with the fastest growing defence spending.

In this context, Bulgaria and 15 other EU countries are urging the European Commission to allow them to amend their budget rules so that they can allocate more funds to defence without negatively affecting budget deficits.

With accelerated militarization, there has also been a significant increase in the share of investments in new weapons. From just 1% of the total military budget in 2014, this share will increase to nearly 32% in 2024. – an indicator that places Bulgaria among the leading countries in NATO in terms of modernization rates.

In 2024, key projects were agreed upon for the acquisition of 198 combat, reconnaissance and command and staff vehicles, as well as nuclear, chemical and biological reconnaissance equipment. This is the largest investment in air defence in decades. Within the framework of the new defence strategy, the largest national military exercises to date with special forces and international participation, such as “Stealth Dagger 24”, are also being held.

In 2023, Bulgaria established itself as the largest ammunition producer in Europe. The main markets include EU countries, the Middle East and Ukraine. Arms exports exceed \$3 billion – five times more than in previous years. A significant part of the factories are switching to 24-hour operation to meet the growing demand.

There are more and more talks about bringing back mandatory military service. There are no significant voices against it so I guess it's just a matter of time and organization.

Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, there has been an anti-war movement in the country, but it remains dominated by nationalist and pro-Russian formations. Over the past two years, mass anti-war protests have decreased, and anti-militarism is practically absent from the public debate, present only among marginal left-wing groups.

The political landscape in Bulgaria remains divided along the Russia-NATO axis, with almost all parties taking clear positions on this issue. This opposition also determines the public polarization on topics related to war and defence.

At the same time, protests against the military actions in Gaza are also taking place in Sofia. Although they are supported by leftist and internationalist groups, they also show a strong presence of nationalist sentiments.

Situation in Brazil:

In Brazil we don't have a clear shift from a welfare economy to a warfare economy. There was never a proper welfare state, neither are we entering a moment of clear warfare economy. Still, it's notable that after the 2015-6 recession seen in the country, continuous budgetary reforms and austerity measures were deployed.

The war still feels like news from a distant world. Not even among the left this is a big topic. Palestine-Israel has occupied long discussions, but not like in Europe or the US. The street demonstrations here have not been super big on any sides. Among the left it's a consensus to support Palestine, to the point that even Lula, in the campist spirit of the BRICS, has publicly accused Israel of genocide. Still, Brazilian oil fuels the Israeli apparatus, despite a small campaign conducted by leftist militants asking Lula to "close the tap".

We barely get any news about Ukraine on frontpages anymore.

Internal violence seems to be rising, with many conflicts of reintegration of occupied lands going on. Notably, Favela Do Moinho, the last favela in the central area of São Paulo, is about to be cleansed. There were violent confrontations, with kids being hospitalized due to inhaling tear gas. There were partial victories after a lot of clashes, like the subsidy for the people to relocate, but still it's a terrible step of gentrification. Also in the southern periphery of São Paulo the population has recently set the streets on fire against police brutality.

Situation in Switzerland

Switzerland is also rearming. To increase the rearmament budget, cuts are being made primarily in the areas of social spending (old-age pension, AHV) and development aid. As everywhere else, the media enthusiastically support this development. For example, the right-wing liberal NZZ asks rhetorically: „Was ist dringender: Geld für die Armen oder für die Armee?“ (“What is more urgent: money for the poor or for the army?”) This development has met with little resistance. The Swiss SP (Social Democratic Party) is in favor of arms deliveries to Ukraine.

In the extra-parliamentary left, anti-militarist voices are slowly becoming audible. The connection between crisis and war is slowly being addressed. Unfortunately, however, the anti-imperialism of the unresolved national questions (Kurdistan, Palestine) is still by far the dominant force in the anti-militarist camp. Imperialism is not understood as a global system of complex political-economic relations of dependency, but as the policy of “evil” (i.e. fascist, non-democratic) states (Turkey, Israel) towards oppressed nations, onto which all the hopes of the revolutionary movement are projected.

With our small group Revolutionäre Klärung (Revolutionary Clarification), we addressed the contradictions of the latest forms of anti-imperialism with a leaflet (see attachment), a brochure, and a public event. Although our intervention met with some response, it did not trigger a huge debate.

But we are staying tuned: this year, important negotiations are taking place in Switzerland between trade unions and master builders' associations for a new LMV (LandesMantelVertrag) in the construction industry. In Switzerland, the social partnership between labor and capital in the form of industrial peace has been enshrined in law since 1937 and the right to strike is therefore severely restricted. Although a one-day strike will take place in the fall, it is rather symbolic for the unions. We (Revolutionäre Klärung) have therefore set up an (informal) group of grassroots members within the main trade union UNIA (the group's name is Arbeiter:innen Solidarisch), which aims to coordinate and, above all, strengthen struggles across all sectors and unions.

Here, too, we repeatedly address the connection between war, crisis and attacks on the working class (inflation, especially with regard to rents and health insurance; poorer working conditions, etc.). This is because the economic struggles for better wages and working conditions are intended to strengthen class solidarity in the long term. Only the working class can end the war of capital!

Situation in Austria

Austria is militarizing in line with the broader trend across most of Europe. However, the process is somewhat slowed by the constitutional and public commitment to military neutrality.

****Arms Industry*

Austria's arms industry is small but highly specialized and export-oriented, making it of international significance. Notable companies include Hirtenberger Defence Systems, Steyr Arms, Schiebel, Airborne Technologies, and production facilities of the German Rheinmetall Group [1]. Austria's Glock company is especially world-famous. Glock pistols are widely used internationally, including as standard issue for U.S. police forces and for "security personnel" in Iraq and (previously) Afghanistan [2].

****Current Developments*

The current government—a coalition of conservatives, social democrats, and liberals—points to the recession while initiating a strong attack on the living conditions of the working class. In contrast, national defense spending is being significantly increased, by more than 8% in both 2025 and 2026 [3]. Even though the trend may be less pronounced in "neutral" Austria than in Germany, the tendency toward rearmament is still significant. In general, economic developments in Austria are closely tied to the situation in Germany. For example, Austria's industrial output is strongly linked to the (crisis-ridden) German industry—particularly the automotive sector. The same applies to the German arms industry. There is growing media discussion and hope that investments in industry related to arms production may counteract the economic crisis [4].

****Increased Budgets*

The current government (a coalition of conservatives, social democrats, and liberals) refers to the recession while launching a strong assault on the living standards of the working class. In contrast, the defense budget will be significantly increased in 2025 and 2026, by more than 8% each year [3].

****Militarization of Classrooms*

There has also been a (well-funded) promotional campaign for the military in schools after 2023 [5]. And there was discussion of deploying soldiers as teachers to counter the severe teacher shortage. It was explicitly stated that the goal is to more firmly embed the topic of national defense in the school system [6].

***Neutrality and Right-Wing Sovereignism

Austria's neutrality was imposed by the Allied powers after WWII to create a buffer zone. It is enshrined in the constitution as "perpetual" and generally is interpreted as that the country will not join any military alliance or allow military installations of such alliances on its territory. Today, neutrality carries strong patriotic sentiment and enjoys very high approval rates. The far-right FPÖ presents itself as the strongest advocate of neutrality (and national sovereignty). The far right supports strengthening Austria's armed forces and pushes for militarization for national defense, while at the same time portraying itself as the party opposing European militarization (e.g., against Sky Shield). The ultra-right's nationalist-sovereignist stance is highly visible in the media, while liberals and Greens are increasingly leaning toward NATO. Across the political spectrum from conservatives to social democrats, there is a general commitment to neutrality. Opponents frequently highlight the FPÖ's connections to Russia. Foreign policy orientation is likely one of the key dividing lines within the political right [7].

***Mandatory Military Service

Unlike most European countries, Austria has compulsory military service for men. Currently, there is discussion about expanding it to include women.

Military service is justified with reference to neutrality and is supported by all major political forces. It is softened by the option of civilian service, which is widely used, despite offering lower financial compensation than military service [8].

***Hardly Any Anti-Militarism

There is very little anti-militarist protest in Austria. The prevailing perception is that Austria, as a small neutral country, plays a minor role in these matters. Some remain silent on the issue to avoid being associated with the ultra-right's nationalist-sovereignist positions. Nevertheless, isolated anti-militarist actions have occurred, and the topic is being discussed.

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Situation in France

Gov raises defence spending to 3–3.5% of GDP, around €30 billion more per year. more defence production, army ready faster, stop depending on foreign weapons. Eurenco factory in Bergerac started making gunpowder again, plans to make 1,800 tonnes per year by 2025. Also built 100,000 artillery shells, including 155mm for Caesar cannons (NATO standard). Plan for companies like KNDS Nexter Systems, Thales, to make faster delivery of Caesar howitzers and drones. The gov says it might force industries to adapt faster if too slow, with requisitions of personal from the civilian Industries, automotive sectors and recalling retired defence industry personal. France 2030 plan, spend €2.5B on AI tech Train more AI workers, from 40,000 to 100,000 per year.

SNU Service National Universel, Civic duty for teenagers It started as a voluntary program, with 2-week stay + group life in military dorms. Gov wanted to make it mandatory but in March 2023 dropped the idea as too many students protested against the pension reform, they didn't want more tension. Still not very popular in 2025, many youth are not interested, but there are changes in school programs with more civic and moral education in classes, teaching about democracy, secularism (laïcité), tolerance, ecology...

War preparation in the US

There isn't really a switch to a war economy, since, as everybody knows, it existed here already. Still, according to the report released last year by the Commission on the National Defense Strategy, an 'independent body of experts' created by Congress, the US, despite its mighty 'military industrial complex' and its gigantic 'Defense' budget, isn't ready for total war against China and Russia. "The Commission finds that the U.S. defense industrial base is unable to meet the equipment, technology, and munitions needs of the United States and its allies. A protracted conflict, especially in multiple theaters, would require much greater capacity to produce, maintain, and replenish weapons and munitions." According to the Trump government, restoring the American industrial basis is the goal of its tariff policy, especially of the high tariffs to protect basic industries like steel and aluminum.

Military production: In many ways Trump continued initiatives the Biden administration took for what it called 'Defense Industrial Base Revitalization' such as accelerating the weapons acquisition system and expanding areas such as shipbuilding (incl. nuclear submarines) and artillery production (monthly artillery shell output increased from 14,000 to 55,000, with a goal of 100,000 by 2026).

For the 10th year in a row, the "Defense" budget has increased. If we take into account the military spending of other departments (such as Dep of Energy, which manages the nuclear weapons, and Homeland Security) annual military spending now exceeds \$1 trillion. To make room for it in the budget (as well as for tax cuts for the owners of capital) drastic social cuts have been imposed, mainly on Medicaid (resulting in 12 million people losing health coverage) and programs like food aid for the poor. The Trump administration also successfully pressured Nato-allies and Asian allies to increase their military expenditures, and thus to buy a lot more weapons from the American military industrial complex.

In April Trump issued an Executive Order titled "Modernizing Defense Acquisitions and Spurring Innovation in the Defense Industrial Base". Among other things it creates greater involvement of Silicon Valley in weapon production, with a focus on AI, autonomous systems, drones and satellite-based warfare. This benefits tech companies like Palantir and SpaceX, but also traditional military firms like Lockheed Martin which received huge orders for the new F-35 fighter jet and space-based missile systems. The U.S. has also begun early production of the B61-13 nuclear gravity bomb, seven months ahead of schedule. This bomb, 24 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb, is designed for precision targeting and

will be deployed on B-2 and B-21 stealth bombers. Long range nuclear missile production is still halted because of the second START treaty between the U.S. and Russia, but that will expire in February and many expect a new nuclear arms race after that. AI is being integrated into nuclear command, control, and communications systems to support rapid decision-making, increasing the risk of preemptive nuclear use. There is also an arms race going on in hypersonic missiles which are extremely fast (Mach 5+) and can evade traditional missile defenses. The US, China, and Russia are all aggressively developing these systems which blur the line between conventional and nuclear weapons.

Increased weapon use: According to a recent report by the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), since Trump's re-entry into office, the US has carried out 529 air attacks in 240 locations across the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. That figure, which accounts for just the first five months of Trump's second term, is already nearing the 555 attacks launched by the Biden administration over his whole term.

Saber rattling: In early August Trump ordered to move US nuclear submarines to a more offensive position, in reaction to a threatening tweet of Russia's ex president Medvedev. And for the first time since 2008, the U.S. moved B61-12 bombs to a forward position in the UK.

Economic war: Biden declared a worldwide prohibition to sell to China advanced chips as well as the hardware to make them. Curiously, that has been somewhat softened by Trump. Both sanctions and tariffs were used with the aim of decoupling the economies of the West from Russia and China. But that's not easy, especially not from China. Trump had to withdraw from steep tariffs under economic pressure (from 245% to 30% but they still may increase again and there is an additional 40% tariff on transshipments (goods China exports through another country like Mexico). Decoupling is bad for profits and would be an absolute necessity for a major war but it is very difficult.

Ideological preparation: the Commission on the National Defense Strategy stressed the need for a major propaganda effort to increase patriotism. The main initiative in this regard is the Trump campaign against undocumented immigrants. Economically, it makes no sense, US capital is losing money as a result. The purpose is to forge a national community through enflaming common hate of outsiders, whose Otherness "pollutes the blood of America" as Trump said.

Situation in Italy

*****MILITARY SPENDING**

Although Italy is only in 13th place in terms of spending per capita for the military, and has not met the NATO target of 2% for military spending (it currently stands at 1,58%), its military spending has constantly and substantially increased over the last decade (an additional 61% over that time), and there has been a particularly notable jump in spending in 2025 (up 2.1 billion euros, equivalent to 7.31% on the previous year), bringing spending to above 30 billion euros per year for the first time in Italy's history (13 billion of which are to finance new arms).

Italy has "excess deficit" and is thus subject to the European "Stability and Growth Pact". Meloni wanted borrowing for arms spending to be excluded from this pact, but it's not quite clear how this will work. Indeed, she left it to the very last day to borrow money from the European SAFE (Security action for Europe) fund in order to pay for military spending – 14 billion euros over five years – to be paid back over 45 years.

To finance increased military spending there will also be 4.6 billion in cuts made to green transition, research, and investment in the car industry between 2025 and 2030. Pensions increases promised by Meloni's government (1000 a month) are also unlikely to be met (they currently stand at 600 euros a month). Further cuts are also expected in the struggling health sector.

*****ARMS EXPORTS**

Italy is the sixth biggest arms exporter (ahead of the UK, behind only the USA, France, Russia, China and Germany). Its arms exports increased by 138% between 2020 and 2024 (info from Stockholm International Peace Research), a larger increase than any other country in that period. 71 per cent of these exports go to the Middle East, in particular Qatar, Egypt and Kuwait. The government have also recently done big deals with Indonesia and Nigeria. The Minister of Defence has given the green light to new programmes for arms of over 42 billion euros in order to meet NATO objectives.

***ARMS COMPANIES

Two companies account for 22% of Italian arms exports: Fincantieri (ship building) and Leonardo (aerospace). The Italian government owns 30% of Leonardo and about 70% of Fincantieri. Despite record profits Leonardo has cut approximately one quarter of its Italian workforce over the past 15 years. Other Italian arms manufacturers include Iveco, Tekne, Rwm and Mbd Italia.

***RESISTANCE

There has not been much in the way of resistance against increased military spending, although there is apparently not much public support for increased arms investments (74% against according to one poll).

There have been some protests against military bases in Sicily, Sardinia and Pisa and port workers in Genoa have recently refused to load arms on a Saudi ship.

There have also been nationwide protests and strikes for Palestine (including a so-called "general strike" - SI Cobas was active in this strike, but a conversation with workers in the logistics sector reveals that although workers are often sympathetic to the cause, they don't feel particularly convinced by the idea of striking for Palestine, they do not see how their work relates to the conflict, and are loathe to lose a day's pay (after a strike many then work on a Sunday to make up for the day lost to a strike)).

There have been a number of steelworker strikes including workers from Leonardo and Fincantieri (the most notable of which blocked the ring-road around Bologna (also in explicit defiance of the Decreto Sicurezza*) demanding improved conditions in the national contract for steelworkers. However, Leonardo has explicitly supported the workers' requests to reopen negotiations, in what seems an attempt at pacification of workers in order to ensure they do not upset what is a very profitable period for the company.

- The Decreto Sicurezza introduced by the Meloni government includes more protections for police and secret services, and higher sanctions for protests, road blocks, squatting, prison revolts and passive resistance (including in prisons). For instance, participating in a roadblock as part of a demonstration or squatting a building can

result in six years or seven years in prison respectively. Sanctions have also been increased for crimes against police officers. There are also specific sanctions for those who protest against public works (this aims to punish protest movements such as the No TAV movement, the No Ponte protests against the bridge to Sicily) and those who commit crimes on railways (perhaps also fearing protests that block railways). It also allows the state to strip new citizens of citizenship if they commit a crime and makes it more difficult for migrants to get SIM cards without ID cards.

Italy and “war economy”

We are in a war economy - CEO of LEONARDO (arms producer)

Historically Italy’s imperial influence has extended from North Africa and parts of the Sahel through the European Mediterranean basin to the Balkans with [military operations](#) in multiple countries reaching as far as Afghanistan. Now Italy produces and [ships weapons](#) and ammunition for Israel’s death project in Gaza, trains their soldiers and even builds their “green” energy infrastructures

By decree, and so sidestepping parliament, Meloni has passed the [Piano Mattei](#). In brief, this is a strategic mission that will bring Italian financial and military powers into the entire continent of Africa (the first nine countries on the list are: Algeria, Congo, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco, Mozambique and Tunisia)

One of Italy’s largest industries is oil giant ENI who has expressed a particular interest in the Piano Mattei. For one, they would like to get their hands dipped in Nigerian oil or Mozambique (where oil reserves were newly discovered). The local bourgeoisies there have already sold unextracted gas at market price to Italy while its workers are starving.

[LEONARDO](#) a top Italian weapon manufacturer has also bid on the Piano Mattei as it sees the war-torn continent as a fertile market for its tanks, drones and torpedoes. Egypt has promised to buy and co-produce weapons and amo. Also the Congo, crosshatched between warring African states, will be in need of weapons.

But the Piano Mattei is not only a strategic economic plan but one that puts in place a military cooperation between Italy and Africa. Its official mission statement is to “take on illegal immigration and buffer the

coordination of strategic development of socio-economic stability as well as military security.”

In Niger (an ex-semi-colony of France in Sahel) where French and American troupes have just retreated only to be substituted by Wagner corps, Italy has deployed 500 Italian soldiers for training Niger’s military and controlling migrant flows. In Mozambique, near the oil reserves, there is a Jihadist army conducting guerrilla warfare: also here, Italy will send its military to protect its investments and supply chain.

With a military presence, it is clear that Italy not only wants to extract Africa’s oil, lithium and precious metals. Not only does it want to sell its weapons and luxury goods to its growing bourgeoisie. It particularly wants to play “gate-keeper” to its massive (and growing) labor supply by enforcing borders, controlling labor flows and, when needed, militarily executing illegal immigrants. In short, Italy’s imperial relations in Africa and its political and military ties with its corrupt bourgeoisie, represents Italy’s cooperation in oppressing and suppressing the African working class.

Meanwhile at home the Italian working class has been subjected to decades of war (on TV), of neo-liberalism, “gentrification,” and xenophobia. The post war proletariat has been slowly “substituted” by digital technologies, while a semi-skilled petit bourgeoisie has formed in the tertiary sector. However since the 1990s also this fairly significant strata has been undergoing a process of “proletarianization.” Ideologically they maintain a reactionary focus on ‘rights’ and are particularly subject to democratic mystifications (of the right and left-wing type). For example, on the 25th of April (the day of National Liberation from the Nazis) more than one news outlet printed Ukrainian and Israeli flags calling these countries at war “partisans of democracy” likening them to the Italian partisans who fought against Fascism... in this kind atmosphere of political propaganda “anti-fascism” has already gripped the general political imagination.

The only working class activity against the war is in Logistics; particularly some significant [dock worker strikes](#) that stopped the shipment of arms. And voicing a level of consciousness when they recognized that the countries that they ship weapons to are those same countries that they see migrants coming from, escaping their war-torn homes. Otherwise immigrant workers (most often undocumented) and jobless workers agitate within [S.I.Cobas](#) (the national union that has a “base committee structure”). But they are isolated from the rest of the working class by intense labor apartheid, corruption and racism.

In summary

Defence expenditures:

- **Total Budget:** €31.4 billion.
- **Increase from 2022:** €2 billion.
- **Personnel Costs:** A significant portion, 74%, of the defense budget is dedicated to personnel.
- **Investments:** 17% of the budget is allocated to investments.
- **Training:** 9% of the budget is allocated to training.

1. We see the acceleration of the transition of several companies from the car industry to the aero-space industry, with the support of the government, and also of the regions - both those governed by the right and those governed by the centre-left are getting busy. All, of course, to 'secure employment', i.e. for the benefit of the workers...

2. The government's decision to create in Sicily the world's first school for F-35 pilots located outside the United States. In this field, Italy already boasts, in condominium with Japan, another primacy: it is the only country in the world where F-35s are assembled (in the Leonardo plant in Cameri, Piedmont). But that was not enough.

3. The ascertainment - through investigations by 'The Weapon Watch' and 'Altreconomia' - that Italy has exported and continues to export weapons to Israel in support of the Zionist genocide by circumventing the authorizations provided by its own laws, with the connivance of big banks and companies-restrictors that do not appear to be involved in war production. These are components for the production of cannons, explosives and substances also useful for the production of nuclear devices...

All in all there is little willingness to fight amongst the general population. Inflation is taking a toll on costs of living as Italy tries to reach 2% PIL on defense. Meloni is agile in talking about how she wants to keep Italy out of the Ukrainian war directly, while pursuing imperial interests in Africa and ramping up nationalism (militaristic parades and military education in schools) and passing all kinds of anti-proletarian laws (which will enable a heavy hand in suppressing any insurgent activity). Anti-fascism is the stance of the general population.